

1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole

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[Information on the rite of attainment of adult status under category 881, although the age of "maturity" to distinguish between puberty and majority.]

Pukapukana

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ted would seem

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village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

On achieving sociological adulthood (*sehatou, unshimou*), a young man or woman may change (*ufo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *ufo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilineal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting tale beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of tale beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

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Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Fakapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

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The *uwa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-lineages each of which is called a *heimege*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uwa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uwa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Uwa* means the life-generating female organ, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *uwa* was discussed with informants on several different

56/ dressed in their kilts. They remained at home and helped with general domestic tasks and in the preparation of the food to be given each day to the old men (*tupelo*). The boys, however, went to the reserves on each of two days to get nuts.

58/ In the big canoes of the old men all the graduating boys from the three villages
526 went together on the first day to Motu Ko, on the second day to Motu Kotawa. At the reserve they got enough nuts to fill their canoes, at the same time being permitted to eat all the reserved foods they wished: nuts, birds, talo, crabs, and other foods. In the evening the boys sailed the canoes back to Wale. As they neared the beach at Wale, the champion wrestler of the graduating group stood in the bow of the foremost canoe. A champion wrestler from the young men's group (*lopa* or *muhiraka*) stepped forward on the beach. The wrestler in the canoe performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322) to challenge the man on the beach, who then made *lupe* in counter-challenge. When the canoes grounded on the beach, the graduates' champion leaped ashore, and the two wrestlers engaged on the beach before the assembled people. Several bouts might be held between graduates and the men's groups. The graduate champion who defeated the village champion gained great renown from this encounter and the right to call himself champion of the island. The evening wrestling on the second day concluded the rite of adulthood and the boys were now considered young men.

58/ After attaining adulthood young men or women were eligible to marry,
to receive adults' food shares, and to perform all the duties of adult members of the community.

YOUNG MEN'S FISHING GROUP

56/ Having become adults, the young men of a *lai tangata* (birth class) next
226 graduated to the *tanganga* fishing group. Some informants said that the
(57) boys belonged to this group for two years, but membership of the *tanganga* group was normally for six months, until the boys of the next birth class were ready to take their place. If, however, the succeeding group was small, the preceding group would continue to help with the *tanganga* fishing until successive graduating groups became sufficiently numerous to enable them to retire from the daily fishing expeditions.

The *tanganga* fishing group was arranged at a meeting of the old men (*tupelo*) held immediately after the adulthood rites were finished. Some informants thought that all the new adults went fishing together in one or more canoes, depending on the number of graduates. Others believed that each boy chose a crew from among his male relatives so that, if there were seven boys in a birth class, there would be seven canoes fishing each day. Probably this second belief is mistaken. But if there were only two or three boys in a birth class and if it was impossible to draw on preceding age groups, these boys would call on their relatives to make up a crew. The nominal leader of the *tanganga* group was the member of the birth class after whom the birth class was named. He was responsible for the conduct of each day's fishing operations, arranged for fishing gear, canoes, and bait, and attended to the handing-over of the fish to the old men.

The *tanganga* fished for such deep-sea fish as bonito, turtle, albacore, and other *tau mutes* (large deep-sea) fish. They went out over the reef each day it was possible to make the passage. After catching enough fish for the

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When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitau lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 332), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitau* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitau* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitau lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

881 Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitau lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

YOUNG MEN'S AND YOUNG WOMEN'S HOUSES

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In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

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A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

- 880 Younger boys who have not arrived at an age to be initiated into manhood are *kulamoemoe*. Infants are *kulapuputi*.

Frisbie (3) gives three periods in the life of an individual, which roughly correspond with the age groups given above: the first period (*takaua*), in which the child is unclothed; the second (*malo*), in which the individual is mature or is classed as an adult; the third (*matua*), in which the individual becomes a parent or a member of the eldest group of society.

- 881 The council formerly decided the time when the boys and young
 884 men of the village might be accepted into the group of men. Their approval was given when they judged that a boy was able to take care of himself and to procure food. Ability in fishing, gathering and husking coconuts, and handling a canoe were deemed more important than the mere fact that a boy had reached the age of adolescence. He had to become well grown, sometimes 18 or 20 years of age, before he was physically able to pass the tests and take part in adult life. Until this time the boy lived in his parents' home.

- 888 When the council decided that a group of boys or young men was ready to be elected into the group of men, the boys were assembled and ordered to accomplish several tests which would prove their abilities:

For several days or weeks the boys took the canoes to sea to catch kingfish (*pala*). Each night they returned to the village council with their catch, which was divided among the families of the village. When they had proved their ability at sea as canoeemen and fishermen, they had to gather coconuts for all the people. The first day they went to Motu Kotava and harvested until late in the day. With their canoes filled, they returned to Pukapuka. On nearing the canoe beach, the strongest wrestler of their group stood in the bow of his canoe and challenged the men on shore to a match. When he went ashore, he met the champion of the *'akatane* group. If the wrestler of the candidates defeated his opponent, the entire group of candidates was acknowledged fit for acceptance as men in society. However, on the second day the group was obliged to return across the lagoon to Motu Ko and bring another load of coconuts. After this the boys were given *malos* to wear and were sent to the young men's house (*wale lapa*) to live as recognised adults (*'akatane*).

The boys considered capable of taking care of themselves (*'akatane*) were eligible to marry. However, marriage did not necessarily take place immediately. A young man must select his mate and make the proper arrangements with the girl's family and his

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seen or heard, than the children have the utmost freedom to explore at leisure their brave new world of physical events and human relationships.

By the time the child has reached the age of about ten years the gangs have become single-sexed and the responsibilities and duties of fitting into an adult world begin to limit their earlier freedom. Boys and girls go around in their own gang groups whenever they have time or the opportunity. But now much of their activity is devoted to learning adult tasks through more constant association with adults. While the boy associates with his older male relatives and absorbs a knowledge of fish and fishing, of such male craft activities as the making of hooks, houses, canoes, nets, and fishlines, the girl stays closer at home with her adult female relatives and in turn learns the preparation of foods and the plaiting of baskets, food containers, mats, and clothing. Attitudes both central and incidental to the Pukapukan psychology of the sexes also tend to sink deeper and stabilize themselves at this period, both boy and girl learning, by largely unconscious repetition, the specific attitudes of their own sex and absorbing from example, talk, and gossip expectancy attitudes in regard to the behavior, feeling, and thinking of the opposite sex. These attitudes receive a fairly explicit exemplification in the old chants that both sexes learn by heart for recital at recurring festival occasions. After puberty the young take every opportunity (opportunities are generally many and easily come by) to school themselves in the sex patterns of their culture by processes of experiment that end with the more stable relationships of marriage.

It is in the pre-puberty period in particular, however, that there is a hardening of discipline and control which seems to come as a shock to many children. For children of this age, girls as well as boys, physical beatings are common. Children are whipped with apparent severity—though the onlooker must sometimes be deceived into assuming that loud shouting and wailing accurately indicate intense pain—for various types of activity which either parent or other relative of equivalent status in the household interprets generally as disobedience to commands or laziness or lack of expected skill. These beatings are given mostly by the older women of the household. Their long range effect and the discipline they subserve are probably of a dual nature. The control, that is, tends to jolt the child out of an earlier freedom attitude; it also hastens the fuller participation of the young person in adult economic activities, thus increasing the productive economy of both the household group and the close-knit village community. With the acquisition of adult status, marked formerly by observing simple group ceremonies and the formal donning of waist girdle or woman's kilt, the young person is considered a full-fledged adult member of the community: eligible to marry, to receive adult food shares in village food divisions, to perform all the economic duties associated with the age grading of young adults. The gradual process of learning the ins and outs of Pukapukan culture is now, in theory at least, well on to becoming a finished task.

III

So far the pattern, as it has been stated, has run itself along with an easy but, of course, deceptive simplicity. Admission of stresses and strains incidental to the process of becoming